

The Regroupment Discussion

An Editorial

In last week's issue we published the text of a statement adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party entitled "On the Regroupment of Revolutionary Socialist Forces in the United States." The statement presents a series of programmatic points, which in the view of the SWP, will contribute to the further clarification of the present wide discussion in the radical movement on the prospect for socialist regroupment.

Even prior to publication of the SWP statement on regroupment, our mail has reflected deep interest in the issue involved. On page two we publish two such letters.

Throughout the country during the past year, well attended symposiums, debates and forums have been the arena for a new and welcome exchange of views among virtually all the radical tendencies in the United States. By presenting a series of concrete programmatic points for consideration, we feel that the statement of the Socialist Workers Party will help considerably to advance the discussion.

Such a discussion, we believe is the prerequisite for unifying the revolutionary socialist forces in the United States.

In addition to a clear posing of programmatic issues involved, what is essential to a fruitful discussion is elimination of any effort to restrict it or to try to ban anyone's participation in it.

DESIRE FOR JOINT ACTION

The discussions of the past year have revealed a profound sentiment in the ranks of all tendencies for maximum unity in action on concrete issues such as civil liberties and civil rights. The SWP statement indicates the party's willingness to join in such united endeavors.

Unification of revolutionary socialist forces in the struggle against American capitalism is assuredly today's most vital need. A free, fraternal and constructive discussion is indispensable to the achievement of this goal. We look forward to comment on the SWP's proposals and open the Militant's pages to the expression of all viewpoints on the issues involved.

THE REVIVAL OF GERMAN MILITARISM (See Page 3)

Forgotten Promises



George Meany and Walter Reuther at the merger convention of the AFL and CIO in December 1955, pledged a big Southern organizing drive. Now, a little more than a year later, the AFL-CIO has quietly dropped the plan and has announced an organizing drive for white-collar workers.

AFL-CIO Tops Seen Giving Up Southern Organizing Campaign

By Myra Tanner Weiss

FEB. 11—At the tail end of the meeting of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO in Miami last week, plans were announced for a large-scale campaign to organize 13 million white-collar workers. Plans include the placing of 120 organizers into the field. There are only about three million white-collar workers at present in the AFL-CIO.

The organizing report was made by John Livingston who had to rush through to enable Council members to catch their planes for home. There was no time for discussion of the proposal apparently considered the least important made at the meeting. But it is clear the proposal is a substitute for the much-talked-of Southern organizing drive that was promised when the AFL and CIO merged in December of 1955.

TOPS FEAR STRUGGLE

The fact is that the Southern organizing drive collapsed without ever really getting started. Why couldn't the top labor officials deliver on their promise to organize the South? Not because they lacked money, resources or organizing personnel. Of these things they have plenty. But to organize the South would mean a fight—a fight against the terrorism of the White Citizens

Councils and the Ku Klux Klan. And the AFL-CIO officials—labor bureaucrats that they are—don't like to fight. They have no stomach for a real struggle.

The white collar workers need union organization. Their living standards, under constantly mounting inflation, have been on the decline. But the need to organize the South is far more urgent. Millions of Negro workers are already engaged in a life and death struggle for their civil rights. All logic would tell union organizers that the place to begin is in the South. The militancy of the Negro people would supply a ready-made basis for an organizing campaign. On the other hand, if the labor movement permits this fight to be defeated by the White Citizens Councils, the latter, in all their labor-hating fury, will dominate the South. Union organization will be blocked for a long time to come.

Lacking the kind of campaign that is needed to organize the South, the labor movement not only fails to make progress, it is losing ground. As H. L. Mitchell, head of the Agricultural Workers Union said, "Unless a program initiated by the AFL-CIO and the national and international unions is developed to expose the White Citizens Councils, future organizing campaigns planned by the AFL-CIO may

as well be stopped at the Mason-Dixon line."

The White Citizens Councils, organized by the plantation owners, bankers, bosses and their stooges in politics, send organizers up and down every state in the South. Within a matter of a few years they have grown to the point where today they collect around \$2 million a year in dues. In most Southern States, opposed only by the Negro people, they have established virtually dictatorial power.

The WCC has even succeeded in electing proponents of anti-labor bills like the "right to work" laws in heavily unionized districts. Benny Cash of Chattanooga, an open advocate of the "right to work" bill, was elected to the state legislature of Tennessee from such a district.

The companies are having a field day using the race issue against efforts of employees to organize. As reported in the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 6, a hosiery manufacturer at High Point, N.C., sent employees a letter during an organizing drive. The letter included the following masterful piece of hypocrisy: "All over the South today there is deep concern on the question of racial segregation versus integration. . . This company does not consider that it is appropriate for the company to influence you one way or another on this deep and vital issue. But the unions

have taken and are taking a very extreme position on this matter."

"You are entitled to know," the letter continues, "and you should understand, that the organizers are misleading you and deceiving you when they pretend that the unions are neutral on this matter. The actual truth is that the unions are working day and night, and pouring out the money which they collect in dues, in an effort to eliminate segregation and to bring about integration in the schools and elsewhere between the white people and the colored people as rapidly and completely as possible."

In a union election in Wilmington, N.C., an official of the Spoford Mills sent a letter to the employees: "You may have noticed in the newspapers that the AFL-CIO at its recent convention took \$75,000 of the dues paid to it by the people who are its members and gave this money to the NAACP, which is the organization aggressively working for the wiping out of all racial segregation, both in schools, manufacturing plants and elsewhere."

WCC TACTICS

The token aid the union movement has been compelled to give to the civil rights struggle is thus thrown at union organizers. Attempting to duck the segregation issue, the labor bureaucrats

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 7



NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1957

PRICE 10c

Communist Party Convention Resists New Kremlin Dictate

Token Civil Rights Bill Given Chance To Pass Congress

By John Thayer

According to Washington dopesters there is a move afoot in Congress to pass a watered-down civil rights law this session. These rumors are noteworthy from the following points of view:

(1) They show that the pressure of the Negro people, particularly in the form of the bus boycott movements in the South and the open dissatisfaction with both capitalist parties, is having its effect on the politicians. (2) The politicians feel it is necessary to try to pass some civil rights law—heretofore those concerned about the Negro and labor vote had considered it sufficient merely to introduce civil rights bills without any intention of really fighting for their passage. (3) The bill that will be pushed will not embody basic civil rights demands (anti-lynching, fair employment practices or school desegregation) but rather token or fringe concessions.

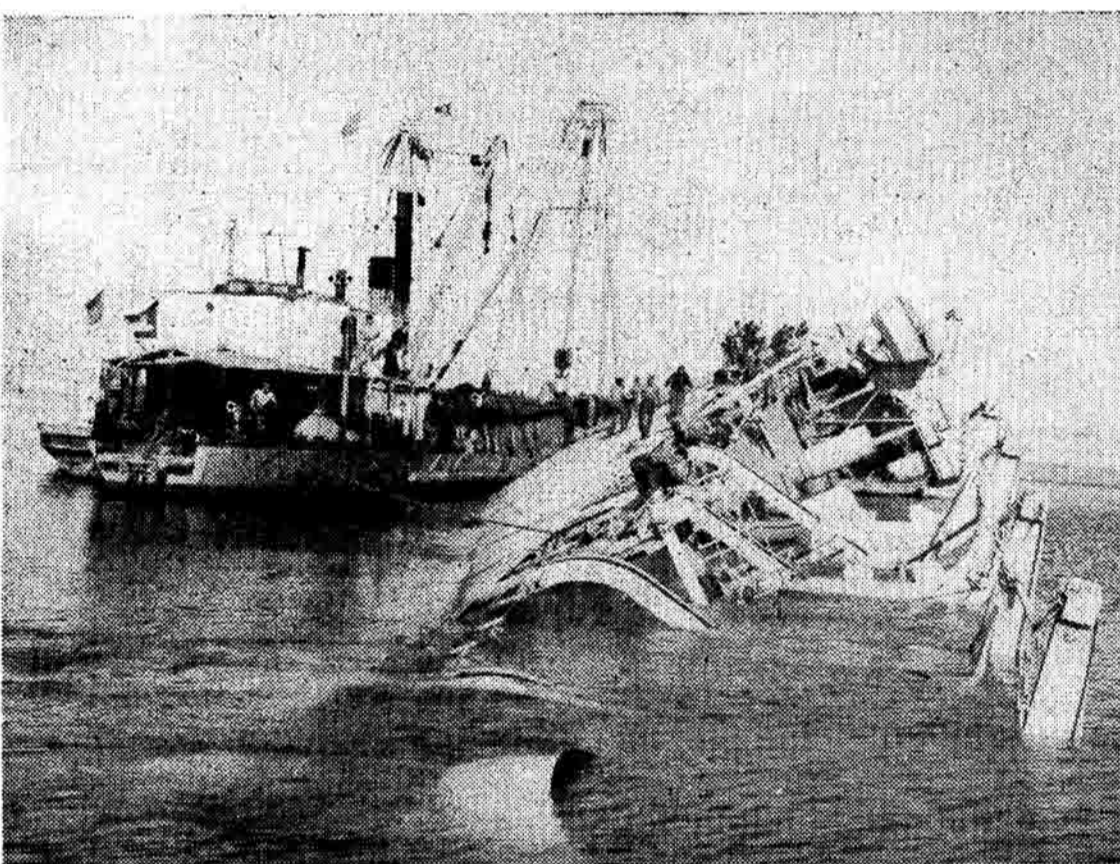
It appears that the Senators behind the move favor a bill incorporating all or some of Eisenhower's recommendations of a year ago. These were a commission to investigate civil rights problems, a civil rights department in the Department of Justice, authority for Attorney General to prosecute those intimidating or coercing a voter in a federal election, authority for the Attorney General to go to court on behalf of one whose civil rights have been violated, direct recourse to federal courts by those whose civil rights have been violated, and authority for the Attorney General to proceed against conspiracies to violate civil rights.

Hearings have been going on in the House of Representatives on two bills (HR 1151 and 2145) of this character. One was introduced by Rep. Celler (D-N.Y.) the other by Rep. Keating (R-N.Y.).

In an article entitled "Real Civil Rights Test Is Due," John

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Still Blocking Imperialists



The 5,000-ton Egyptian LST, Akka, loaded with cement, was sunk in the Suez Canal 40 miles south of Port Said at the time of the unsuccessful British-French invasion to recapture control of the Egyptian canal. The Akka is presenting salvage crews now working to clear the canal with a major problem. Attempts to hoist the sunken ship failed last week and salvage ships began the work of towing it to a wider section of the canal where it can be by-passed.

Saud Visit Shows U. S. Gov't Bolstering Arab Feudalists

By Fred Halstead

During his visit in Washington last month, King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia announced that the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East "is a good one which is entitled to consideration and appreciation" by the Arab governments. The purpose of the Eisenhower Doctrine is to allow United States economic and military power to replace that of Britain and France whose power in the Arab world is collapsing after the Suez fiasco.

Why is Saud, a self-styled sup-

porter of Arab nationalism, backing this plan? And why is the government of the United States, a modern capitalist country, supporting the absolute feudal monarch, Ibn Saud? The answer is that both Saud and U.S. capitalism are fundamentally opposed to the revolutionary struggles of the Arab masses for economic and political progress, for an end to economic exploitation by foreigners, for the opportunity to develop their own national resources for their own benefit.

Saud's "nationalism" is based on hatred for Israel and a dynastic feud with the Hashemite rulers of Jordan and Iraq who were put in power by the British. This, plus the fact that he is a puppet of U.S. oil corporations rather than British ones, accounts for his occasional opposition to British imperialism in recent years. His class position, however, is proving stronger than his family feuds. At the Washington talks Saud was brought together with Iraq's Crown Prince Abdullah who together with Lebanon's Foreign Minister Jacob Malik had previously announced support of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

U.S. diplomats prepared the Washington visit in hopes that "Saud would conclude that he had more in common with King Faisal of Iraq, who is also rich in oil, than with President Nasser, who represents a revolutionary, anti-feudal movement in the Arab world that might one day bring down the Hashemites and the Sauds as well," says the Jan. 31, N. Y. Times.

SAUD'S TROUBLES

It is mass unrest in their own countries which these rulers fear most and against which they expect U.S. arms to protect them. Part of the agreements concluded with Saud on his Washington trip was the five-year extension of the lease for the U.S. bomber base at Dhahran. In return for the lease Saud is to receive an estimated \$50 million in U.S. military equipment, services and training to maintain "internal security."

The maintenance of the "security" of his feudal regime is becoming increasingly difficult for Saud. The extraction of oil in Arabia, according to the Jan.

31 N. Y. Times, has not only made "Saudi Arabia's sheikhs and princes rich, but it has begun to develop a politically conscious middle class in the towns. . . the Arabian-American Oil Company workers have begun to develop political consciousness."

WORKER UNREST

Saud has been facing increasing unrest from these workers. "Last June," according to the Jan. 23 Time Magazine, "4,000 workers struck at ARAMCO just before Saud paid a formal visit, greeted him shouting of 'oppression' by foreign imperialists. Saud's police beat several demonstrators to death with palm stems."

The U.S. State Department finds support for the Eisenhower Doctrine from the Saud's and Faisals, because these elements are least sensitive to the will of the Arab masses who do not want to exchange British-French domination for that of U.S. imperialism.

U. S. Target



EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT NASSER. As part of its drive against the national independence movement which makes him a power, Wall Street is now wooing Middle East feudal leaders.

Reflects Will of Members To Win Right to Chart Party's Political Course

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Feb. 13 — Reflecting the will of Communist Party members to win freedom from the political dictation of the Kremlin, the party's convention which

ended here last night rebuffed Kremlin efforts to decide the convention's outcome. Moscow's intervention came, as it did in 1945, through the medium of a letter from French CP leader Jacques Duclos which branded the stand of the Gates wing of the party leadership as a "dangerous departure" from "Marxism-Leninism."

The Duclos letter followed an attack in the Feb. 3 issue of the Moscow paper, Soviet Russia, which charged the Gates forces with succumbing to the "pressure of bourgeois ideology" and lumped its views with those of John Foster Dulles in typical Stalinist frame-up style.

DENNIS SHIFTS

Apparently sensing a strong reaction by the delegates to the Duclos' Kremlin-inspired intervention, Party Secretary Dennis replied to the letter with the declaration: "Our decisions will be our own, made by the collective judgment of this convention, and based on OUR Marxist understanding of American reality." Dennis, who tried to play a balance-of-power role in the internal conflict, had appeared in the days prior to the convention to be blocking with the Foster wing. His stand against Duclos, however, put him in opposition to that wing.

Foster, who led the struggle to keep the CP in the role of a blind parrot for the Moscow line, asserted that "this convention should welcome the sage and

friendly advice of our French comrades and others."

The actual convention vote expressing independence from Kremlin domination came on the issue of whether the party should interpret and apply "Marxism-Leninism" or merely apply it. The Fosterite viewpoint was that the CP must limit itself to applying the line laid down by the Soviet bureaucracy.

Presenting the majority view of the resolutions committee, Gates-supporter Max Weiss called on the convention to approve a clause stating that the American CP upholds Marxism-Leninism "as interpreted" by the party. The clause, he said, is an "explicit declaration of the independence and equal status of our party in relation to all other parties in the world Communist movement on matters of theory." Such a step, he pointed out, constituted a break with the past when "we tacitly assumed that the interpretation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism as made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was ipso facto valid and all that we had to do was to creatively apply their interpretations to our conditions."

At a convention press conference, party spokesmen reported that the stand of "interpreting" Marxism was adopted by the convention by an approximate two-to-one majority. The convention elected 20 members to a 60-member na-

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Hungary Gov't Attacks Worker, Student Gains

FEB. 12 — The Kremlin's puppet regime of Janos Kadar in Hungary is continuing a savage totalitarian onslaught against the workers and youth of that country.

The regime announced Feb. 10 that all industrial workers would be paid solely by piece-work rates instead of fixed wages. To enforce this reactionary measure, plans are being laid for the creation of armed factory guards to "maintain order" among the workers. Coming on the heels of the recent Kadar decree establishing the death penalty for strikers, these moves mark a return to the vilest features of the Stalinist labor code.

Trampling further on the national aspirations of the Hungarian people, the regime has also indicated its intention to re-establish compulsory Russian instruction in the school system.

According to the Feb. 11 New York Times, the Minister of Education explains that it will be necessary to "delay" carrying out the recent law abolishing such compulsory instruction because of a lack of teachers of western languages. He did not indicate what way the two were connected.

'DANGER' OF CONCESSIONS

Desperate efforts to crush mass revolutionary opposition is apparently focusing on the nation's youth. A Feb. 8 Reuters dispatch reports that the official CP paper, Nepszabadsag, has suggested that children be raised in special "children's towns" so that they could "grow up in a healthy way of thinking and be taught socialist patriotism and discipline in a conformist atmosphere."

To bolster the drive against the youth, it is reported that in



KADAR

a major Budapest high school the teachers have been summoned to a lecture by the police on the subject, "How to deal with the counter-revolutionary behavior of children."

The over-all perspective of the regime was expressed in a public speech of one of its members, Gyula Kallai, in Budapest. He declared: "The present state of emergency will continue until we have finally crushed the counter-revolution. . . The revolutionary government has decided that no concessions shall be made since concessions, however small, would result in greater demands and lead to a new Oct. 23."

An Open Letter To My SP Friends

By J. J.

(The following letter was written Jan. 29, by a prominent former member of the Socialist Party in Los Angeles. — Ed.)

Dear Comrades:

I have read with regret the outcome of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation Unity Convention held in New York, January 18-21. The acceptance of the Statement of Understanding as the programmatic guide for the merged organization should smash any hopes of the SP's left-wing for a militant SP around which radical forces in the U.S. could regroup.

The Statement of Understanding avoids any clear-cut stand against capitalism, but instead devotes itself to a tirade against communism. It limits the independent SP-SDF electoral activity, and makes it easier for the membership to openly support capitalist candidates. At the same time the statement makes more difficult, if not impossible, participation by the SP membership in discussion, debate or joint action with any organization not following the principles of the Second International.

Though I have been an active member of the SP for the past few years and have worked with the left-wing caucus, I left the Party when the Statement of Understanding was passed. Other members of the left-wing remained in the Party as a "loyal opposition." I feel that their loyalty is misplaced.

The very structure of the Unity Convention was highly detrimental to any left-wing. First, it was held in New York, the seat of the right-wing membership. Second, the delegates allotted to the SDF almost equaled the total membership they brought into the joint organization. The SP representation was on a delegate to membership ratio of less than one for 15.

More important, the small gains made by the left-wing at the more representative Socialist Party Convention held last June were negated by the Unity Convention. Resolutions passed at the June Convention on such important issues as foreign policy and civil rights were shelved in order to achieve unity with the SDF.

Such tactics, for the purpose of receiving recognition from the Second International, do not deserve the respect of the left-wing, let alone their loyalty. For twenty years the SP and SDF have been trying to get together. Doesn't it seem strange that now in scarcely twenty weeks since the left-wing raised its voice in the June convention, the SP-SDF unity is consummated?

The left-wing's program, however, deserves respect in that it has been consistently anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist. It has fought for civil liberties for all and it has opposed the right-wing's position on limited academic freedom and support of 'necessary' government screening. The left-wing has always supported the colonial revolutions and worked hard to get its Algerian, anti-Mollet resolution on the books before the Unity Convention.

It is clear that the left-wing can make an effective contribution only in a revolutionary socialist organization where the main foe is capitalism and not the Party's reactionary leadership.

Only such an organization can successfully challenge the capitalist system in a day to day struggle, in the shops, schools, unions and neighborhood organizations as well as in the electoral field. I am planning to join the Socialist Workers Party, because I feel that the SWP is the only organization which today is capable and willing to work for socialism on such a day to day basis.

I do not feel that there is any conflict in my joining the SWP and my working for a militant socialist regroupment. Unlike leaders of the SP-SDF, Farrell Dobbs, in his speech, 'Can the Left Unite?' (see the Jan. 28 Militant) has stated that the SWP will participate fully in debates and discussions now going on among the left forces. Furthermore he declared that the SWP will work with other radical organizations on such important issues as civil liberties and civil rights. This is a necessary first step toward regroupment.

I do not expect other members of the SP to consider, at this time, a similar action. You have not had, as I have, the many hours of discussion with members of the Socialist Workers Party. These discussions convinced me of the party's internal democracy and have helped me to understand that organization, its program and ideas.

I hope that others will avail themselves of any similar opportunity. I would like to state that my questions were always treated seriously and painstakingly answered, even when I was considered a political opponent.

To my friends in the SP, I can only add, do not take for truth, second-hand characterizations of movements or ideas. Do not remove yourselves, because of right-wing pressure, from the vital discussions now taking place among socialists everywhere. Discuss with everyone, study all sides so that you may take your rightful place with other sincere militants in the struggle for a socialist future.

'I Am a Stalinist' Says Khrushchev

A vivid, though vulgar outline of the latest Kremlin attitude toward Stalin was acted out by Khrushchev and Bulganin, rather in the style of a burlesque comedian and his straight man, at last month's Moscow reception for Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. An Associated Press dispatch, Jan. 17, reported it as follows:

"Mr. Khrushchev grabbed a microphone to declare that he is a Communist.

"But some people say you are a Stalinist," Soviet Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin interjected.

"I am a Stalinist," Mr. Khrushchev asserted. "But I don't separate Stalinism and Stalin from communism. As a Communist fighting for the interest of the working class, Stalin was a model Communist."

"We have criticized Stalin," he continued. "We still criticize him, and if necessary we will do it again. But we do not criticize Stalin as a bad Communist as far as the interests of the working classes are concerned."

"Stalin had his bad points. Lenin saw them before we did and pointed them out. They were borne out. The defects were bad. But in things that counted, that is, the interests of the working class, God grant that every Communist should fight for the interest of the working class as Stalin did."

"... Mr. Khrushchev, flailing his arms while his listeners laughed and applauded, continued his defense of Stalin and rejected Stalinism as a term of abuse. Marshal Bulganin tried to get him away from the microphone, but he kept speaking."

Boston Radicals Present Their Views On Socialist Regroupment in the U. S.

January 24, 1957

Editor:

With a nation-wide committee of twenty financing members (undoubtedly much more by now, as this was at last count) and many more contacts throughout the country from National Guardian ads, the Rev. Hugh Weston (31 Main St., Saugus, Mass.) as Temporary Organizing Secretary and myself, a 22 year old industrial worker, as Temporary Organizing Chairman, hope to create a United Socialist Alliance as a medium that the various Left groups can use for regrouping towards the eventual goal of one single socialist party. The U.S.A. is not to be a new, rival organization, but one that will work with the different groups and be a bridge between them.

What would be best initially is if the different groups would affiliate with the USA organically and thus make it into a federation. Our doors are open to anyone of socialist persuasion and we have no hide-bound program and concealed leaders that everyone must bow to. The pro-

gram is to be formed by the rank and file membership itself.

Rev. Weston has proposed for adoption a program of advocating a Labor Party and supporting working people everywhere against their oppressors no matter what label the oppressors go by; of supporting the AFL-CIO against the capitalist monopolies; the rank and file union members against the MacDonald and Meany bureaucrats; supporting the Polish, Hungarian, Yugoslav and other Eastern European working classes against Russian domination; the Soviet people against the Khrushchev and Molotov bureaucrats; and so forth. At the same time the social gains in favor of the people of any economic system should be defended. In essence, unreserved support of democracy everywhere and in every instance. However, this is no iron-bound dogma and it is up to the rank and file to decide.

The USA movement is necessarily loosely formed by its very nature. We do not intend to become an entrenched institution but rather a temporary medium

towards a better thing, namely, a new party of the American type, programmatically drawing upon the best features of the present groups and rejecting the negative features.

This country needs a broad Left movement, centered on a revolutionary party, that can enter the mainstream of the mass labor movement. None of the small groups representing the Left at present are adequate for the job. Almost all are too narrow, or if not that, are not socialist at all, like the SP and SDF. We need a movement in which all the present groups can have free interplay with each other, work together on common aims and discuss theoretical and practical differences in a friendly and leisurely way, without the recriminations and bitterness that have marked the Left in the past.

Rev. Weston and I would like to see various leaders of the Left on our national committee, such as Bert Cochran and Harry Braverman of the "American Socialist" magazine, Max Shachtman and James P. Cannon, Scott

Nearing, Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy of the "Monthly Review," Vincent Hallinan and Clifford McAvoy, and so forth, although no doubt we have to grow bigger before these "names" will join. We urge the McAvoy and the Koppersmith unity groups in New York City to merge with each other and become the New York section of the national movement.

Another feature of a reinvigorated, broad socialist movement would be a single socialist party on the ballot, say, for example, for 1960, that could attract the over-a-million people that voted for the Progressive and Socialist parties in 1948 and the half-million-or-so people who have passed in and out of the Communist Party in the past. In other words we need a party that can attract all independent socialists presently dormant. Only this kind of a party can bring the socialist message to new thousands and become dominant in the great movement of labor. Only a party that combines sterling revolutionary principles with a wide, broad-minded outlook and the tactics of combining the basic program of Socialism with that of immediate demands can wrest the broad ranks of the American working class from the Meany and Becks, replace the Democratic Party with a Labor Party, do the job that is needed. Of course, this is no final "take it or leave it" doctrine but the opinion of an individual. As Hallinan said in his letter to the Militant, quoting Cromwell's "Apothegm to the British Parliament": "I beseech you, by the bowels of Christ, to conceive that you may possibly be wrong." I concede this on my views.

Sincerely,

George Larrabee
RFD Southampton Rd.
Westfield, Mass.

REGROUPMENT PAMPHLET

The Statement of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on the Regroupment of Revolutionary Socialist Forces in the United States will soon appear in pamphlet form. It was initially published in the Feb. 11 issue of the Militant.

Two Irons in the Fire



Chinese Premier Chou En-lai (left) at the 1955 Bandung Conference with the Indonesian Prime Minister Sastroamidjojo. Chou is now touring the colonial countries in a new bid for political and diplomatic support to the Chinese government. Previously he visited the USSR, Poland and Hungary to help shore up the rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy as it suffered heavy blows at the hands of the Hungarian and Polish workers who demand national independence and socialist democracy.

Chinese CP Balances Stalin's 'Achievements' and 'Mistakes'

By George Lavan

The new line adopted by the Kremlin almost two months ago has been variously dubbed as "re-Stalinization," "neo-Stalinism," "a return to Stalinism," etc. This line was launched in agreement with the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. Indeed, the "theoretical" base for it appeared on Dec. 29, in the lengthy statement entitled "More on the Historical Experience of Proletarian Dictatorship," issued by the Chinese CP Political Bureau.

The preceding Militant article (in the Feb. 4 issue) dealt with the basic premise of this document—the subordination of all conflicts in the Soviet bloc to support of the Kremlin bureaucracy—and its immediate application to Hungary and Yugoslavia. Now to be considered is its evaluation or re-evaluation of Stalin and Stalinism.

THE CATEGORIES

The document is liberally sprinkled with references to Stalin's "mistakes," and it places them in the following categories:

Violation of "socialist democracy": Stalin mistakenly sharpened the class struggle inside the USSR after classes hostile to Socialism had ceased to be a threat, whereas in that phase of Soviet development democratic methods of administration can grow, laws can be "normalized" and bureaucratic tendencies overcome.

Violation of the rights of nationalities: Stalin tended toward "great power chauvinism" and he lacked the spirit of equality... sometimes he even interfered incorrectly in the internal affairs of some of the fraternal countries and fraternal parties with many grave consequences.

Personal arbitrariness: He "presented unfounded accusations against many devoted Communists and good citizens and that resulted in grave damage."

While the above categories cover most, but not all, of the charges brought against Stalin by Khrushchev in his famous speech to the 20th Congress, there is a tremendous difference in tone and emphasis. The "mistakes" are minimized and apolo-

gized for. Thus the item about "great power chauvinism" is limited to some instances and preceded by the assertion that he generally abided by internationalist principles.

There is no hint here of Stalin's criminal destruction of the equal association of nationalities within the USSR that was established by the October 1917 Revolution; the mass deportations of whole nationalities; the encouragement of anti-Semitism; the ruling of the East European countries by puppets, whom he set up and purged at will; nor of the similar way in which he converted the Communist Parties of the capitalist nations into diplomatic pawns.

Stalin's violation of "socialist democracy" is attributed to a "misunderstanding" of Marxism as it applies in the period after the disappearance of the old ruling classes. His arbitrariness is explained by his becoming "isolated from the masses." His monstrous purge and frame-up system under which millions were murdered or sent to concentration camps is passed off as "presenting unfounded accusations," and even this is preceded by the apology that he justly liquidated "counter-revolutionaries."

FURTHER EXCUSES

In addition to minimizing and softening the charges against Stalin, the Chinese present numerous general excuses for him. For example: some of Stalin's mistakes stemmed from conditions in the USSR; others from the inexperience inevitable in the first workers state; other leaders could have made the same errors since they had historic and social roots; despite errors, Stalin "creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism... expressed the will of the people"; he was "a great and steadfast" Communist who led the Soviet Union to great "accomplishments"; his tragedy was that even while making his "mistakes" he believed that what he was doing was best for the working class.

Therefore, the Chinese conclude Stalin and those who made similar "mistakes" must be treated "as comrades not as enemies." None of these excuses for Sta-

lin hold up under examination. Conditions in the USSR and the inexperience in the first workers' state also produced opponents of Stalin's "mistakes." His faction expelled them from the party as in the case of the Trotskyist Left Opposition and, when the power had been consolidated, murdered, imprisoned or terrorized into silence all opponents of the "mistaken" policies.

The Chinese say that the errors should be leniently viewed because they had "social and historical roots." But the policies of all dictators have "social and historical roots." This neither explains nor justifies them. What were these social and historical roots? Were they progressive or reactionary? By dodging a serious examination of the roots of Stalinism, the Chinese document serves only as a whitewash of it.

The Soviet Union certainly made great progress—but despite, not because of Stalin. The record shows that he bitterly resisted planning and industrialization as "Trotskyism" until economic collapse of Soviet economy forced him to undertake it. Soviet progress is half or less what it would have been had not the bureaucratic oligarchy, protected by Stalin, plundered and mismanaged. At the 20th Congress Khrushchev cited examples of disasters on the economic and military fields brought about by Stalin's gross ignorance and caprice.

Rather than contributing to Marxism-Leninism, Stalin perverted and prostituted it to opportunistic ends. Suppression of much of Lenin's writing and the crass, self-serving re-writing of history are examples of his attitude toward Marxism.

PSYCHOLOGICAL JUDGMENT

As for the Chinese leaders' psychological judgment that Stalin meant well, there is ample evidence to show that he meant ill—that he was a sadist. But this is a minor consideration. His attitude towards the workers is best measured by the number of secret police he put over them. That in defending his power and the privileges of the bureaucratic oligarchy he had to resist

Nazi imperialism is no more justification of his rule than is the similar fact that, faced with a union-busting drive of the employers, a corrupt, tyrannical labor bureaucrat in this country will fight to preserve the union—the base of his power and privileges.

In the opening paragraph of this article the terms "re-Stalinization," "neo-Stalinism," etc., were mentioned. They are not suitable descriptions of what the Kremlin bureaucrats, with the help of the Chinese leaders, are trying to do. They are not trying to restore Stalin to the position of demi-God that he previously occupied in the propaganda firmament. This they realize is impossible. Khrushchev's words at the 20th Congress cannot be erased. Though the speech has never been released to the Soviet public its general content is known. The most that can be attempted is to tone down what has already been said and to stop further revelations. Thus a more accurate description than "re-Stalinization" would be—the attempt to stop de-Stalinization.

NO RETURN

It is impossible to go back to the old Stalinism because the temper of the Soviet masses will not tolerate it. Indeed it was the growing dissatisfaction of the people of the Soviet bloc that led the bureaucracy to try to dissociate itself from Stalinism at the 20th Congress. But the official downgrading of Stalin gave the masses a legal cover for open expression of their opposition to the regime. In their daily talk, at factory meetings, in novels and on the stage popular pressure carried anti-Stalinism far beyond the official formulations and in fact against Khrushchev and the other official "initiators" of revelations and reforms. The tempo with which the process developed in Poland and Hungary threw Stalin's heirs into a panic. With the aid of the Chinese CP leaders, they hope to slow down and stop the process by slowing down and choking off its verbal manifestation. The field of history is strewn with the wreckage of similar attempts.

FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Cleveland	\$ 420.00	250.00	60
Newark	240.00	100.00	42
Chicago	1,560.00	650.00	42
Detroit	1,000.00	407.00	41
Boston	600.00	205.00	34
Youngstown	300.00	100.00	33
Buffalo	2,100.00	600.00	29
New York	5,000.00	1,392.10	28
Milwaukee	250.00	70.00	28
Twin Cities	1,584.00	383.50	24
Philadelphia	480.00	79.00	17
St. Louis	80.00	10.00	13
Los Angeles	4,000.00	450.00	11
Allentown	102.00	10.00	10
Akron	140.00	—	—
Oakland	240.00	—	—
San Francisco	800.00	—	—
Seattle	360.00	—	—
General	—	75.00	—
Totals through Feb. 13	19,256.00	4,781.60	25

Party-Building Fund Gets \$100 Pledge from South

By C. Farr

Party-Building Fund Director

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party throughout the country have pledged a total of over \$19,000 to the Party Building Fund launched by the recent meeting of the SWP National Committee.

Taking note of the marked growth of interest in the views and activities of the SWP manifested in the recent presidential election campaign and the increasing demand for Trotskyist literature following the Khrushchev revelations on the "Stalin cult," the SWP National Committee issued a call to all friends and supporters to contribute to the special Party-Building Fund.

It is especially heartening to record the receipt of a \$100 pledge to the Party Building Fund from a friend in the Deep South. The many hundreds of letters from that area received by The Militant during the recent election campaign is testimony to the growing support of the SWP program of militant action to achieve full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people. The Party Building Fund will aid in carrying forward the political and organizational activity in the field of struggle for Negro equality.

The organization report submitted to the recent SWP National Committee, meeting showed encouraging signs of growth and expansion in all fields of party activity. The Party Building Fund was launched to take full advantage of these promising new opportunities. To fulfill the growing demand for Marxist literature the SWP is projecting an ambitious publication program to make available many of the outstanding works of Leon Trotsky which have been long out of print. In addition, a series of pamphlets on current and recent political events — The Revolution in Hungary and Poland, The Crisis in the Middle East, the Regroupment Discussion, the Regroupment World Stalinism, etc. — have already been published or are now in the process of publication.

On the electoral field, the SWP proposes to carry forward its political campaign for independent working class political action. Local Los Angeles is running a mayoralty candidate, Erroll Banks. Local New York recently nominated Joyce Cowley as SWP mayoralty candidate for the 1957 municipal elections. Other branches are now considering socialist electoral participation in their localities.

CLEVELAND IN VAN

All this stepped-up activity will be further accelerated by the prompt fulfillment of the important Party-Building Fund. We are sure that readers of the Militant will want to make their contribution to the building of a revolutionary socialist movement in this country by sending their donations to the SWP Party Building Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

As the figures in the Fund Scoreboard show, the campaign is off to a good start, with 25% of the pledges already paid by the SWP branches. Cleveland, with 60% of its quota in, is well ahead of the 1/3 mark, with two months to go. This auspicious start indicates that the branch campaign directors are pressing for regular weekly payments, spaced through the three months of the campaign. This method prevents a scramble to pay up at the last minute.

Many of the branches report that the prospects for increased membership and the many new friends of the Socialist Workers Party assure that they will be able to meet their quotas in full and on time.

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7400
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS
Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Mixed articles by contribu-
tors do not necessarily rep-
resent the Militant's position.
These are expressed in the
editorial.
"Entered as second class
matter March 7, 1944 at the
Post Office at New York,
N.Y., under the act of March
3, 1879."

Vol. XXI - No. 7

Monday, February 18, 1957

Labor and the 5th Amendment

In opposing the projected Congressional "investigation" of labor "racketeering," Carl Stellato, president of the powerful Ford Local 600-UAW, has taken a stand that should be supported by every unionist and every defender of civil liberties.

In the Feb. 2 issue of Ford Facts, Stellato declared: "Senator McClellan is conducting a 'probe' of alleged labor racketeering. . . His companions in this probe are Senator McCarthy and Senator Mundt — two anti-Union Senate leaders who have suddenly decided to protect the workers from their leaders. . . If, as alleged, racketeering does exist in some levels of the labor movement, I am quite certain that labor can clean its own house. And labor certainly looks with a jaundiced eye when the enemies of labor try to do the job for us. We will be opposed to a 'labor investigating Roman Holiday' which is so characteristic of anything Senator McCarthy has a hand in."

Stellato's statement comes as a timely and proper answer to the stand of UAW President Walter Reuther and the top officialdom of the AFL-CIO in support of such a "labor investigating Roman Holiday." This stand was expressed in a resolution of the UAW International Executive Board calling on Congress to "authorize an appropriate Congressional committee to conduct an investigation . . . and expose . . . corruption in labor, in industry and all other aspects of the problem."

This invitation to the political represen-

tatives of Big Business to interfere in labor's affairs can only encourage a McCarthy-type smear of all unions. It will help lay the basis for further government attacks on the rights of labor. An even more dangerous aspect of the AFL-CIO stand is its declaration that any union official who utilizes the Fifth Amendment against the Congressional probes should be automatically dismissed from his post. This stand must be characterized as a reactionary assault on Constitutional rights and a major assist to the witch-hunting drive against the Bill of Rights.

One of the principal aims of the Congressional probes is a new assault on the Fifth Amendment. Just as McCarthy's previous "investigations" spread the poisonous concept of "Fifth Amendment Communists," so the present committee will carry on an insidious campaign against "Fifth Amendment labor racketeers." In this way the curtailment of civil liberties will be extended from the political to the trade union arena.

It is necessary to restate that the purpose of the Fifth Amendment is to defend the rights of the innocent, and that every attack upon the unconditional right of every citizen to its protection is an assault on the Constitution itself.

The stand taken by labor's top hierarchy is a serious betrayal of the interests of civil liberties in general and of labor's rights in particular. Every conscious unionist should work for its repudiation.

The Power to Declare War

The Eisenhower Doctrine, which would give the President authority to involve this country in war in the Middle East on his own decision, met a flurry of resistance in the combined Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees. Senator J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), proposed to substitute for this authorization a resolution endorsing Administration policy in the Middle East, a resolution that would, however, lack the force of law. Fulbright's proposal was defeated, Feb. 12, by a vote of 17 to 10.

Objection was also raised to the second part of the Eisenhower Doctrine that would give the President up to \$200 million to spend for special projects in the Middle East. Senator Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) led the fight against this section and was defeated by a vote of 17 to 11.

In the course of the debate Secretary of State Dulles was sharply attacked. Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) charged that "there is no more deceptive person in public life than John Foster Dulles."

Of most concern to the American people, however, is the Eisenhower demand for war-making power in the Middle East. Fulbright argued that granting the President the sole decision to make war would "strike down the Senate's rights and duties in the conduct of foreign affairs as defined by 168 years of constitutional practice." He also said it would permit

"naked executive power [to] rule the highest and most fateful interests of the nation." (N. Y. Herald Tribune, Feb. 12.)

Senator Fulbright's appraisal of the constitutional problem involved in the Eisenhower Doctrine is correct. But we suspect it was made with an eye to the next elections for little concern has been evinced in the past for the protection of the Senate's "constitutional duties."

The sole power of Congress to declare war was forgotten when Truman took the U.S. into the Korean civil war on his own, evading the constitutional obstacle by calling his move a "police action." Then, two years ago, Congress gave up its 168-year-old war-making power to the President when Eisenhower asked for authority to use troops in the Formosa Straits dispute any time he wanted to.

The Senate has given the American people enough proof of its readiness to involve this country in war — without even waiting to examine the concrete circumstances of the conflict. If the "constitutional practices" of 168 years are to be changed, they should be changed in the other direction. It should be made more difficult to make war instead of easier. The people alone, through referendum vote, should have the power to decide when and where and for what purpose the American youth are to be asked to sacrifice their lives.

Revival of German Militarism

By John Black

Two recent events highlight West Germany's Chancellor Adenauer's success in his remilitarization drive. On Jan. 21, conscription went into effect, and on Jan. 24, Lieutenant General Hans Speidel was appointed to the post of commander of NATO ground forces in Central Europe.

The Speidel appointment is the payoff to Adenauer for his introduction of the draft in the face of strong German public opposition. The 350,000 young men who will be raised for NATO will replace French and British troops withdrawn from Europe for service in other areas—namely, Algeria and the Middle East.

WORKERS HOSTILE

The remilitarization of West Germany and Adenauer's subservience to NATO are opposed by substantial sections of the German population. Because of the hostility of the working class and especially the attitude of the youth, Adenauer has had to retreat from his previous aims. The period of army service was cut from 18 months to one year, and Germany's NATO quota from half a million to 350,000.

Emnid Institute, a public opinion poll, proved that anti-militarist feeling is on the increase in the recent period. In December 1955, 59% of the population opposed military service. By July 1956 the figure had risen to 65%. In the age group of 25-30 opposition was 72%, and the industrial working class registered a 73% opposition. In fact, by July only 5% of all people actually expressed any desire in favor of service.

This growing opposition to remilitarization is fed by the suspicion harbored by many against the men surrounding Chancellor Adenauer. Dr. Otto Brautigam, head of the key East-European section of the Bonn Foreign Min-

Back at the Old Stand



German munitions king Alfred Krupp and his wife, at time of his release after serving six years of a 12-year prison term as a war criminal. His vast industries were then restored to him. With Germany now playing a key NATO role, Krupp and his fellow German capitalists are amassing huge new profits.

istry was careless enough to keep a diary of his wartime exploits as Hitler's special emissary on the mission of liquidating the Jews of Poland and the Ukraine. Reprints of his diary, which reveal that he was "glad to have been able to carry out his mission," have been available.

Adenauer's right-hand man and special assistant, Hans Globke, was the man who codified Hitler's notorious Nuremberg racial laws. His accusers have produced photostats of his handwritten comments on the original draft which indicate that he favored an even harsher interpretation of the law.

Undoubtedly there is deep discomfort at the thought of serving under the command of former SS troops, recently rehabili-

tated as material for Adenauer's "democratic" army.

The Social Democratic Party has failed the trust placed in it by the majority of the workers. The party program as ratified by Convention bound the party to oppose remilitarization. But in Spring 1956, the rightwing leadership of the party assisted Adenauer in amending the Constitution and thus made conscription possible. The twenty left-wing parliamentary representatives who broke party discipline to vote against these amendments are the heroes of the party ranks. Support for them was strong enough to prevent threatened disciplinary action.

The position of the socialist youth organizations, the Falcons and the Socialist Student League,

has been to demand that the party take a stronger stand against the remilitarization.

Trade unionists under 21 are organized in youth sections within the unions. They number over 700,000. At their second national convention in the summer of 1956, 30,000 delegates vividly demonstrated their opposition to capitalist militarism in a defiant rally and torchlight procession. The stronghold of this movement is among the young miners from North Rhine Westphalia.

The left-wingers and the youth introduced many resolutions calling for mass actions against militarism at the Social Democratic Party Convention of 1956.

U.S. press comments on Speidel's appointment to a key post in the West European NATO set-up stressed that he was cultured, educated and had been opposed to Hitler. This bears some further examination.

Entering the Kaiser's army in 1914, Speidel has not been out of the army since. When the imperial Reichswehr collapsed, he entered the republican Reichswehr. The long years from 1918 to 1933 brought him painfully slow advancement to first lieutenant. Only with Hitler's seizure of power did Speidel's career take a spectacular upward turn.

Speidel used the quiet years to take university courses in history and economics. His doctoral thesis was an elaboration of the reactionary "dagger-in-the-back" legend, which holds that it was the "machinations" of democratic politicians and working class "sabotage" that led to the failure

of the Kaiser's world conquest plans.

Hitler placed Speidel high in the administration of occupied France. By 1943 when the chances of victory looked bleak for Hitler, Speidel and many other top military men thought to save the situation through a "Western orientation." These military experts wanted to overthrow Hitler, make peace with the Western capitalist countries and thus gain a free hand to fight the Soviet Union.

The plot failed and brought disaster to Speidel's associates. General von Kluge shot himself, Rommel took poison under pressure, and von Stuepnagel was hanged. But Speidel survived the blood purge.

CAPITALISTS COCKY

The very first inkling of post-war remilitarization finds him in the thick of it and close to Adenauer.

The German capitalist class riding high on a spectacular post-war economic boom is crowing about the Speidel appointment. French and British newspapers voiced dismay that their troops would have to serve under a German general. The cockiness of the resurgent German capitalist class can be judged by this quote from the "General Anzeiger" of Bonn: "The British are astonished and indeed irritated that Germany, after two lost wars and incredible losses, has again prospered and is energetically pushing into traditional British markets."

... CP Convention

(Continued from page 1)

tional committee, with the remaining 40 to be added by state conventions during the next six weeks. While there is not sufficient information available for a comprehensive evaluation of the election results, a number of noteworthy features are apparent.

A substantial number of delegates apparently did not consider themselves committed to either the Gates or Foster wings of the leadership and a large measure of healthy suspicion was expressed against both. Thus, the first four places went to district party leaders including some virtually unknown nationally. Top vote getter was little-known Charlene Alexander of Los Angeles, with 210 1/3 votes. (There were a reported 298 delegates at the convention.) Seven of those elected are Negroes, indicating a desire of the convention for maximum Negro representation regardless of factional viewpoint.

Dennis found himself in sixth position with 174 votes. Foster followed with 172. The most prominent leaders of the Gates faction fared even worse than Dennis and Foster in the number of votes received. Gates ran sixteenth with 129 1/3 votes, while New York State Chairman George Blake Charney squeezed through in last place with 115 2/3 votes.

REFORMIST PROGRAM

At the same time the convention rejected by a vote of 140 to 80 a motion by Foster to suspend the rules to elect a twenty-first member who was nosed out by Charney by one third of a vote.

As anticipated, the convention endorsed the reformist political line of the Draft Resolution of the National Committee. Its main planks are "peaceful co-existence," support to the Democratic party and support to the official leadership of the labor,

liberal and Negro movements.

The hotly disputed Gates proposal to convert the party into a "political association" was withdrawn prior to the convention as a "unity" move, and the convention reaffirmed continued existence of the organization as a party. Gates was conceded the right of possible future discussion of the issue in the national committee.

A resolution was adopted embodying a conciliatory stand toward social democracy. Both Foster and Dennis restated their stand that the Hungarian revolution was an imperialist-inspired "counter-revolution." The Gates wing of the leadership, which had initially criticized the Kremlin role in Hungary, in the Daily Worker, dodged any confrontation of this vital issue at the convention. The convention also put its seal on the draft resolution's rejection of authentic Marxist-Leninist theory on imperialism and the nature of the state. The resolution discards "as obsolete the thesis that war is inevitable under imperialism . . . (and) the concept of inevitable violent proletarian revolution."

The first point is actually a rejection of Lenin's insistence on the need for a revolutionary, class-struggle policy as the only effective means to combat imperialist war. The second point is in effect a rejection of his thesis that the capitalist state machinery must be replaced by a democratically-organized workers and farmers government in order to begin the building of a socialist society. The convention resolution envisages instead a "people's anti-monopoly" government, i.e., working through the capitalist state for an indefinite period in the hope of effecting a subsequent "transition" to socialism. All of this was also acceptable to Foster who, in the pre-convention discussion, had campaigned as a champion of "Marxism-Leninism."

L. A. Sobell Group To Show Film

The Los Angeles Sobell Committee announced that at their "Meeting For Justice" to be held at the Embassy Auditorium on Friday, February 22 — Los Angeles will see for the first time — "Was Justice Done?" — new film material on the Rosenberg-Sobell case.

Speakers will include national figures who will address the audience in behalf of justice for Morton Sobell. The meeting will launch the national appeal to President Eisenhower, and supporters from all over this country and abroad will be announced. There will also be a report on the hearings before the Second Circuit Court of Appeals scheduled to take place momentarily in New York.

The growing sentiment concerning doubts in the Sobell case and question regarding his incarceration in Alcatraz, America's Devil's Island, makes this meeting a most significant event.

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Bosses I Have Known (II)

By Ben Stone

The Smoke Watcher

I walked up to the gates of the utility company and approached the uniformed watchman on duty. He was a roly-poly, jolly-looking man. "Can you direct me to the employment office?" I inquired.

"How old are you?" he asked.

"Sixteen," I answered.

"Do you have your working papers?"

"Yes, I do."

"Well, I'll let you in to fill out an application form."

He directed me to the employment office where I duly filled out the application. The personnel manager told me they just had an opening for a young man whose sole function would be to watch the smoke coming out of the four huge smokestacks on the roof. "Your title will be 'Smoke Observer' and the salary is \$14 a week," he added.

Since this was an imposing title and the salary represented a \$6 increase over my last job, I considered myself an extremely fortunate young man and of course my family was elated when I told them about it.

The title was no longer so imposing when everybody just called me plain "Smoky" but the salary increase was really tangible and something I could hang on to.

The big plant was probably the largest supplier of electric power in the city. The power plant also transported its own coal into what is known as the "Hell's Gates" section of the East River and the giant

cranes could be seen hoisting in huge quantities of coal every day.

My job specifically was to observe the smoke coming out of the smokestacks and if it was too black to press a button which flashed down to the boiler room and more coal would be thrown into the roaring furnaces.

After some weeks of performing my tasks very diligently I was given to understand that I should not press the buttons so often. I finally got the idea and found myself with nothing to do.

So I found myself more often than not playing checkers with the switchboard operator, a blond young man some years my senior. We became quite friendly in spite of the fact that he found out I was Jewish, whereas his family had always been members of the Ku Klux Klan.

I soon became aware that I was one of the very few Jews employed by this company. The anti-Semitism was flagrant. The friendly watchman who had directed me to the employment office told me bluntly, "If I had known you were Jewish, I never would have let you in." A subtler form of anti-Semitism was displayed by a couple of fellows who kept telling me that they expected me to become a rich man some day.

One fine day I was playing checkers with my Klan "friend" when in walked the district supervisor and fired me on the spot. The perfect timing led me to suspect that it was a frame-up. At any rate there was one Jew less working for that outfit.

By Henry Gitano

"We are determined to bring justice to the South. The cause is greater than the man. If the cause is just and worth living for, then certainly it is worth dying for." This is the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth speaking. He is one of the dynamos behind Birmingham's Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. "My house was bombed and destroyed. The blast wasn't to warn me, but to kill me. I am more determined than ever in my efforts against segregation." Rev. Shuttlesworth's home was demolished last Christmas day by a dynamite blast.

WAITED TOO LONG

The 34-year old pastor whom I interviewed at New York's Hotel Theresa, was one of the ACMHR founders. This organization was the bold reply of Birmingham's Negroes, three days after the NAACP was banned in Alabama by an injunction on June 1, 1956. Eleven religious and civic leaders called a mass meeting for June 6.

The overflow assembly adopted a declaration stating: "We express publicly our determination to press forward persistently for freedom and democracy, and the removal from our society of any forms of second-class citizenship. We want a beginning now. We have already waited 100 years."

Rev. Shuttlesworth related how a conservative Negro leader (Rev. G. W. Murray) objected to a mass organization. "The people wanted to throw him out. Voices like his are few and far between. The average layman is as ready as I am, to sacrifice. The people getting into it, that's what made the movement. Those who are not with us at the beginning, they will catch up. Meanwhile we're fighting. When they do catch up, they can join us in the fight."

I asked the pastor about the new Southern Negro, struggling



REV. F. L. SHUTTLESWORTH (left), leader of Birmingham bus desegregation battle is shown with unidentified friends after the Christmas Day bombing of his home by racists. He and his wife and children escaped with minor injuries. Their home was badly damaged by the bomb.

for a better world. He replied: "This should have been started years ago. Birmingham's 260,000 Negroes have arisen as one man — it's amazing. It's a spontaneous struggle of a people who want their freedom; you can't drown out their cries. The courage and devotion, the dignity with which Negroes have waged this struggle is miraculous. There is a huge attendance at our weekly Monday night mass meetings. One Negro who suffered from a weak heart spoke at the mass meeting. His last words were 'do it now.' He died later that evening. These fighting parting words exemplify our struggle."

"The Negro is proud to be part of something that is good. There is a new sense of dignity. It's a massive appeal for our rights. Quit saying liberty and justice for all but me." To my question as to the ACMHR progress over the past seven months and what its next steps would be, the minister replied: "We fight segregation, period, amen, that's right, all over, anywhere. God is against sin; we're against segregation. We sing: 'And before I'd be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave, and go home to my Lord and be free.' Then we go out and fight." The outspoken President of the ACMHR elaborated: "We're only seven months old, but we mean business. We have three lawsuits

pending in the Alabama courts for equal rights and equal opportunities." He discussed the fight for first-class citizenship on city buses, in railroad stations and the right to take Civil Service examinations.

On Dec. 26, 1956, 21 persons were arrested after a mass violation of Birmingham's bus segregation laws led by Rev. Shuttlesworth a few hours after his home was wrecked by dynamite. "Police expected us to ride Thursday, they had 50 extra police ready. Instead, 250 of us rode on Wednesday. We didn't want trouble with the police. The only ones arrested were those who kept riding four or five buses, by which time the police had arrived." [Their trial is scheduled for Feb. 11.]

WHAT WAS PROVED

"We accomplished three things: (1) we proved our courage and determination to rebel against old traditions; (2) we made a test case of the law; and (3) we proved that when left alone we can ride together without violence."

After the Dec. 26 integrated riding of buses, Birmingham's Negroes reverted to riding on a segregated basis, pending a court ruling on the bus segregation ordinance. This is in contrast to the principle followed in Montgomery and Tallahassee. Rev. Shuttlesworth explained that it wasn't "fair" to penalize the bus company for obeying the racist law. It appears that whereas the mass meeting decided to stay off till the buses were integrated, the leadership overrode this mass sentiment.

Rev. Shuttlesworth said there was no point in just fighting for bus integration if you are humiliated in a waiting room. So Carl L. Baldwin and Alexander Baldwin filed suit in District Court asking an end to racial segregation in the Birmingham Terminal Station.

Rev. Shuttlesworth also stressed the importance of job opportunities: "Our place is where everybody else's place is. We don't want to be the last hired and first fired." The

ACMHR filed suit last October against the Personnel Board for the right of Negroes to take Civil Service examinations.

Discussing the role of violence, the Negro leader expressed his people's lack of fear: "They'll have to bomb all our houses before we'll stop, and then we won't stop. The threats and bombings are the convulsions of a dying order. They express the frustrations on the part of whites caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. I've got only one life and I'll gladly give it for this fight."

With bitter humor he asked: "Isn't it strange that they can't find loose dynamite, that there are no arrests after bombings. It's almost as if it were winked at. Particularly when, hunting for whiskey, they find it just like that." The minister snapped his fingers to demonstrate with what rapidity local authorities locate bootleg whiskey.

KKK 'PASTIME'

On Jan. 3, Asa Carter, WCC leader declared himself in favor of white supremacists taking the law into their own bloody hands by organizing "minute men" to preserve segregation by throwing Negroes off buses if they attempted to ride in the "white" sections.

"Dynamite and bombs," said Rev. Shuttlesworth, "are becoming as popular as firecrackers with the WCC and KKK. There's no use getting mad, when there's a battle to fight. Heaven never looked as beautiful as when you're close to hell anyway."

At the Abyssinian Church, Rev. Shuttlesworth expressed the aspirations of the Southern freedom fighters: "We're not afraid and disgusted. If winter comes, spring is not far behind. We've gone to the mountain top and we don't choose to go back to the valley again. We want the right to sit where men sit, to work where men work, including the right to sit in the drivers' seat. Give us not your stones forever. They can't kill us; they can't kill the truth."

The Cardinal and 'Baby Doll'

By Joyce Cowley

"Nothing happens."

This is what a Brooklyn laborer, interviewed in Life Magazine, had to say about the controversial picture, BABY DOLL. I'll agree nothing happens along lines that, in view of the sensational denunciations and publicity, he had been led to expect. There are a few moments when Baby Doll breathes heavily and you conclude that she is passionately aroused, but there are far more suggestive scenes in dozens of run-of-the-mill Hollywood films. Baby Doll does not engage in any extra-marital sex or for that matter, any marital sex either. So the attack on the picture is a little puzzling. Just why does the Cardinal object?

VS. COMMUNISTS, TOO

His blast at BABY DOLL was only the third time that Cardinal Spellman spoke from the pulpit of St. Patrick's Cathedral. In the first instance, it was to attack communism and again, to denounce Hungarian Communists for the imprisonment of Cardinal Mindszenty. Baby Doll's labored breathing hardly seems in a class with these subjects, yet he also tied it to the present Hungarian crisis. He prefaced his remarks by condemning the "communists" in Hungary, then said that on the home front, too, he was "angushed by shocking news." "It is the moral and patriotic duty of every loyal citizen," he continued, "to defend America not only from dangers which threaten our beloved country from beyond our boundaries, but also the dangers which confront us at home." He concluded that BABY DOLL "is certain to exert a corrupting and

immoral influence upon those who see it."

While the Cardinal's speech resulted in record-breaking business in New York City, the effect has been different in other cities. The Catholic Bishop in Albany, the Most Rev. William Scully, has ordered a six-month boycott of movie houses showing the film. Ex-Ambassador Joseph Kennedy has banned it in a chain of New England movie houses that he owns. Providence, Rhode Island, will show BABY DOLL with six scenes deleted. In Raleigh, N. C., it is being picketed, and it has been banned in Memphis and Atlanta.

In these Southern cities, the ban is probably not due to Catholic influence. There is another aspect of the picture which has not been making headlines—it is a grimly realistic view of Southern life. Elia Kazan said that he made BABY DOLL "to get on film what I feel about the South," which no one would have guessed from the advertising or from "moral" appraisals of the film.

SHOWS NEW NEGRO

But Bishop Water in Raleigh called it "insulting to our Southern region," and some of the captions in Life's story on the picture are quite revealing. "MEAN WHITE—The film's whites are a poor and prejudiced lot." "MOCKING NEGRO—answers the boss's snarl by laughing unfeelingly at his troubles." It also refers to "scorned and scornful Negroes." (My italics)—scornful Negroes are something new in the Mississippi scene.)

The bigotry of the white Southerner is depicted honestly. Baby Doll herself, slovenly and infantile, is an uninspiring specimen

of pure white womanhood. Her greedy, stupid, middle-age husband warns his young wife not to go near the cotton gin when the "niggers" are around, and refers to his Sicilian business rival as a "greasy wop." When he suspects the Sicilian of intimacy with his wife, he points out that the "wop" hasn't got any friends. But the husband has, and he makes phone calls which alarm Baby Doll. She tells the Sicilian to get away quickly because these friends are "tough," and it is obviously suggested that he is planning to beat up or lynch his rival.

When the husband is arrested—after doing his best to shoot the other man, and after the Sicilian produces a statement signed by Baby Doll testifying that her husband is guilty of arson—the sheriff is friendly and apologetic, explaining that he has to take him in for the night "for appearances sake."

I wonder if the widespread hostility to the film has something to do with its actual content, instead of its "immorality" which I was unable to perceive.

Undoubtedly, another factor is the recent liberalization of the motion picture industry's Production Code. It is something new for a picture condemned by the Catholic Legion of Decency to get the approval of the Production Code Administration, and the Catholic hierarchy apparently considers it a challenge. The Catholic censors hope to rally support in Hollywood itself against the new code. They may also hope that Warner Bros., distributors of the film, will make some concession and delete a few scenes.

So far Warner Bros. have been standing firm; in fact, they are threatening to sue the theater in Providence which is showing a cut version of the film. They are backed by mounting public resentment of the Cardinal's attempt to regulate not only what Catholics should see, but appoint himself guardian of everybody's morals, and his implication that anyone seeing BABY DOLL is not only sinful but unpatriotic, too.

PUBLIC MAY GAIN

The motion picture industry, never noted for its independence or courage, is concerned about profits which have fallen off sharply due to competition from television. It is experimenting with the idea that adult films will attract more customers, and producers are watching the fate of BABY DOLL closely to see if defying the Legion of Decency pays off. While the industry's motives are financial, it is a struggle from which the public may benefit, both in the fight against censorship and in the quality of motion pictures. BABY DOLL is an interesting departure from the usual Hollywood product, and that's why I recommend seeing it. Your feelings about the Cardinal's campaign against it may be an added inducement.

Samuel Janis, an official of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has said, "We will strike every garment shop in the area that does not go all out to protect the safety of its workers." This is a stand that should be supported, but to make it effective, the union should clearly dissociate itself from the official charge of "panic" and make concrete demands for stringent legislation including enforced replacement of buildings that cannot be made safe and fit for people to work in.

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...AFL-CIO Southern Drive

(Continued from page 1)

leave the workers unarmed for the propaganda assault of the racists.

The United Rubber Workers had signed up 80% of the Negro and white workers in the Manhattan Raybestos plant in Charleston, S.C., and an NLRB election was called. Then, according to Stan Opatowsky of the N.Y. Post, the Citizens Council distributed a single piece of literature: it listed the names of the Negro union members who had signed a desegregation petition given to the school board. "Do you want to belong to the same union as these Negroes who want their children in school with yours?" asked the WCC pamphlet. The union lost the election.

The AFL-CIO has issued fine statements condemning the rotten system of segregation in the South. But the union bureaucrats are doing practically nothing to defeat this system and those who uphold it. Opatowsky quoted one union leader in the South who said bitterly, "I am frankly disappointed—even shocked—at our AFL-CIO leadership in Washington. There has been no direction, no leadership, in fighting the Councils, even though we know what they are doing to us."

"They don't give us a red light on fighting them. They just don't give us a green light, either. They don't give us anything, except a few passages in a few speeches made up North every now and then. Why, I haven't even been asked for a report on Council anti-union activity in my area."

ISOLATED RESISTANCE

Of course some resistance to the campaign of the WCC is made. Paul Christopher, Southern regional director of the AFL-CIO told of this incident, recounted by Opatowsky in the N.Y. Post series on the WCC: The leaders of one Southern local came to him and said:

"We've decided to throw the niggers out. If you interfere with us, we'll secede."

"Oh, you'll secede, eh?" replied Christopher. "Well, maybe we'll make it easy for you. Maybe we'll just revoke your charter. You say this is the biggest issue before your union, so surely you can handle all the 'little' ones."

"So you can handle your own grievances, and then tell your members. 'Well, we lost the job, boys, but at least we don't have any Negroes in the local.'"

"And you can negotiate your own contract, and then tell your members. 'Well, no pay raise, boys, but at least we don't have any Negroes in the local.'"

"If that's what you want, take

it—you have five minutes to decide." Their bluff called, the segregators caucused quickly and capitulated. They said, "Never mind. We'll keep the Negroes."

But efforts like Christopher's to stem the progress of the WCC by answering ultimatum with ultimatum are not enough to save the existing AFL-CIO positions let alone organize the unorganized in the South. What is needed is a "crash program" to flood the South with serious, intelligent literature on how the bosses profit from segregation and how the white workers suffer from living 'standards way below the level of the nation as a result of it.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

What is needed are radio and television broadcasts throughout the Southern states, exposing these racist hoodlums in the WCC. Hundreds of devoted union organizers are needed in every major Southern city to counter the moves of the WCC. Independent political action, at least on a local level, should be organized to oust the racist from control of City and State governments.

A few million dollars should be spent on literature and broadcasts until every man, woman

and child knows what segregation means—until the WCC with its trash is hooted and howled out of existence.

The white workers will begin to understand and they will learn to take their place beside their Negro brothers and sisters in the fight for their common welfare. The militancy shown by white workers, as well as Negro, in the railroad and telephone strikes of 1955 will then realize its great potential.

Instead of fighting on the basis of such a program, the AFL-CIO collapses in the face of the WCC fire. It has not issued a single pamphlet or made a single broadcast in the South to explain and defend its anti-segregation stand. As Franz Daniels, AFL-CIO organizer in Washington said, the problem is being left "pretty much to the local people."

The organizing of white-collar workers is a very important job. But it is likely that the AFL-CIO will undertake that job with any more zeal than the Southern drive? If George Meany's Council is unable to come to the aid of those who are already fighting a powerful anti-labor force like the White Citizens Councils, is it likely they will try to seriously rouse others to battle?

...Civil Rights Legislation

(Continued from page 1)

D. Morris, a Washington correspondent of the New York Times (Feb. 10) describes the differences between past civil rights "battles" staged by the liberals and the attempt that he sees coming. "Periodic drives for enactment of bills to enforce the Constitutional rights of Negroes and other minorities have in the past been discounted by knowledgeable analysts, for the most part, as insincere gestures toward a powerful bloc of voters. The widely held suspicion has been that a desire to make political capital was the pervading motivation and failure to legislate was a foregone conclusion."

Reviewing the bills introduced by the liberal Democrats in the Senate and Eisenhower's recommendations of last year, both of which were "too late" for any chance of passage but just in time to furnish campaign material, Morris concludes: "It seemed obvious to many impartial observers that all of this was a sham battle, aimed solely at making a record for one party or the other to win support of Negro voters in the 1956 Presi-

dential and Congressional elections."

The wholesale switch of large numbers of Negro voters to the Republican column as a protest has shown liberal Democrats that their old shell game no longer suffices. On the other hand, Republican politicians, who had begun to consider their newly acquired Negro vote as permanent, are now terrified by the storm of anger that swept every Negro community after Eisenhower's refusal to make the speech against Jim-Crow terrorism requested by the Southern Negro leaders.

Already, according to the N.Y. Times article cited, a bi-partisan group of Northern Senators "have an understanding with the Democratic leaders [of the Senate], including Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas [Senate Majority leader], that a real opportunity to break the filibuster and pass a bill will be afforded them early in the session. Their strategy will be to wear down the opposing orators by holding the Senate in continuous session after a week or so of debate. They believe this can be done."

SWP in San Francisco Demands Genuine FEP

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 24 — Joan Jordan, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, appeared before the Supervisor's Committee on County, State and National Affairs here yesterday in support of the demand for a fair employment practices ordinance with teeth in it.

Yesterday's action concluded a three-week hearing where proponents presented arguments in favor of FEP. Starting Feb. 13, the opponents will be allowed equal time to present their case against the city ordinance.

Indications are, however, that the ordinance will pass. This prospect was strengthened when Leo Halley, chairman of the committee, denied the request of FEP opponents for a six-month delay to duplicate (in their favor, of course), a previous six-month study made by the Council for Civic Unity. This study demonstrated that discrimination not only existed in San Francisco but was wide spread.

Halley, however, has insisted that two crippling amendments be added to the already weak ordinance. One would prohibit organizations from lodging complaints with the commission, and the other would give the employer the right to require United States citizenship and local residence as conditions of employment.

SWP PROPOSALS

Joan Jordan proposed three major points for strengthening the ordinance: (1) Increase of penalty provisions to include jail sentences. (2) Establishment of a small, paid commission instead of the seven-man unpaid commission provided for in the

ordinance. (3) Selection of FEP commissioners by a conference of minority peoples.

"The Socialist Workers Party believes that the ordinance should provide for a meeting of all major organizations of the minority peoples of San Francisco, which would select the members of the commission," Mrs. Jordan said. "We believe the commissioners selected by the minority peoples themselves could best protect their democratic rights and thus further the purposes of the ordinance."

In asking for prison penalties, she pointed out that wrist-slapping token fines would not deter giant corporations such as the largest petroleum company in the west which still refuses to hire minority peoples even as building-service (janitorial) employees.

Introduction Dance Slated by Socialist Youth Group

NEW YORK, Feb. 15 — The American Youth for Socialism will hold its first party, Saturday evening, Feb. 23, at 116 University Place.

A full program of entertainment, dancing and singing is being planned by the arrangements committee.

According to Bert Deck, chairman of the newly formed group, the AYS intends to cooperate with other youth organizations in struggles of the day.

"For example we are now supporting the movement to free Frank Santana, the Puerto Rican youth now serving a twenty-five year to life sentence for the so-called 'murder of the model boy,'" said Deck.

Details concerning this and other projected activities will be announced at the Feb. 23 social.

The AYS holds regular meetings every Tuesday evening at 8 P.M., at its headquarters, 116 University Place. The public is invited.

All inquiries should be sent to the above address.

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